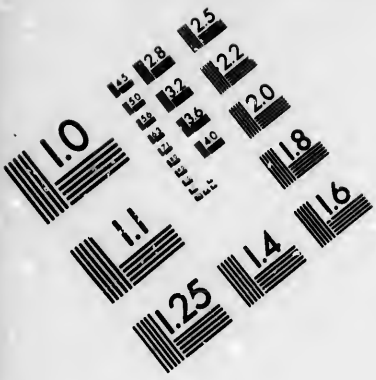

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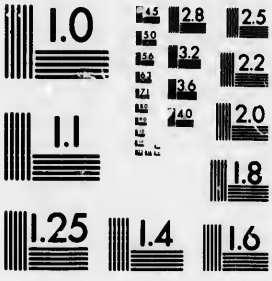

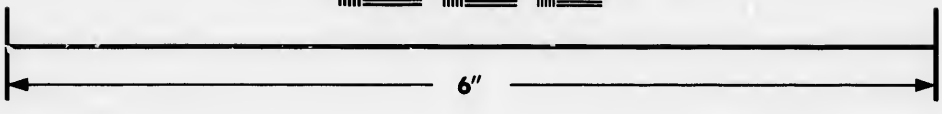

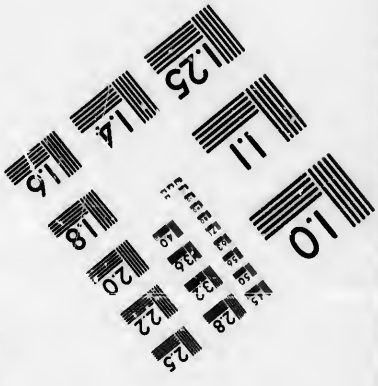

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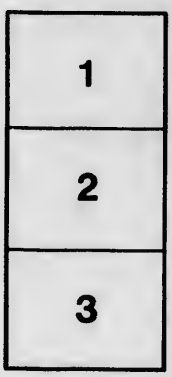

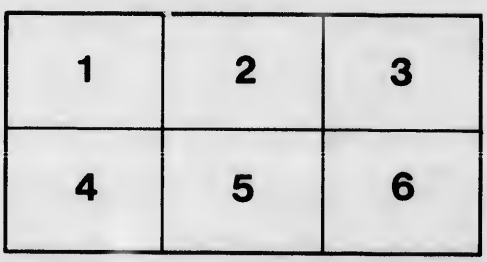

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AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY

OF

GALILEO AND THE ROMAN INQUISITION:

A LECTURE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CATHOLIC YOUNG MEN'S LITERARY INSTITUTE,

ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 11, 1860,

BY THE HON. DANIEL BRENAN.

Published by the Committee for the benefit of the C. Y. M. L. Institute.

CHARLOTTETOWN, P. E. I.

PRINTED AT THE EXAMINER OFFICE.

1860.

To Messrs. Walker, Roche, Gahan, and the Members of the Committee of the C. Y. M. L. Institute.

GENTLEMEN,—

At the time I consented to hand you over, for publication, the Manuscript of the Lecture on "Galileo and the Roman Inquisition," it was with the full intention of revising and correcting it ere it went to the press; but I regret that my health or leisure since did not enable me to do so. I need not remind you that the selection of matter for an hour's entertainmet at an Institution like yours is a much more simple task than to prepare the same for a Pamphlet, fit to appear before the public in this progressive age. It is, therefore, with no small share of reluctance that I have to give it up in its original very imperfect condition—sensible as I am that its imperfections will be more prominent on its appearance in print than in its present state. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I lay no claim to its composition, such as it is, as I have only collected the written testimony of others from the scanty materials within my reach. But I feel strong in the moral consciousness, that in the several extracts cited from the authorities named, I have—to the best of my humble abilities, as far as I am capable of judging—given the same correctly, and with no other view than the elucidation and establishment of the truth of the matters under consideration. And with this declaration ends all that shall be said of its merits, by,

Gentlemen,

Your most obt. humble servt.,

DANIEL BRENAN.

Charlottetown, April 28, 1860.

GALILEO AND THE ROMAN INQUISITION.

THERE are few subjects upon which more has been written, and perhaps less understood, than the story of Galileo and his far famed persecution. Whether from prejudice or the ignorance of those who copied from prejudiced writers, it is a sad reality that too many have been led astray in their statements respecting the treatment of this celebrated man at Rome. Some assert that he was imprisoned five years—others that his eyes were put out—some, that he was imprisoned for one year—some others, that he was confined in the dungeons of the Inquisition!!—while we have in our own days Sir David Brewster—in the article entitled "Astronomy"—in his edition of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, bearing testimony at one moment to Galileo's "confinement for a year," and the next, confessing that in saying so, he has been led astray "*by the misstatements of many distinguished writers*" who had gone before.

Still these are errors of minor importance, which are fast disappearing before the increasing light of history. It is in their relation to the general questions of Religion and Science, and the mutual bearings of these upon one another, that the misstatements of writers will be found to be most general and of most importance.

A belief is sought to be induced, that the so-called persecution of Galileo is but one fact among many, indicative of the same temper—that the spirit it betrays has ever been an habitual feeling in the Church, manifesting itself more or less, but ever regarding the doctrines and conclusions of science with an eye of jealousy and mistrust—that the quiescence of the earth in *particular* was once a *dogma* of the faith—that it was precisely for his scientific inculcation of the opposite *truth* that the distinguished man under consideration was prosecuted and persecuted—that the Inquisition condemned and proscribed the Coper-

nican views—and that the Inquisition is decisive with Catholics on doctrinal points, whose province is to declare what is and what is not to be believed by the Church; what is and what is not to be regarded as heresy.

Such are the persuasions invariably produced by the perusal of nearly all the works of English writers on this subject. Some appear bigotted to even a disgusting degree, while some others—though too few in number—may be partially free from foregone prejudiced conclusions, but nevertheless copy from some of the former, without taking the trouble to examine authentic original documents, to enable them to judge impartially for themselves. There seems to be something in the early educational impressions of many an English Protestant that incapacitates him from looking at this and many other facts of history in their true point of view, which is said to be much below the standard of the Protestant minds of Germany, where the principal historians generally investigate facts, irrespective of vulgar prejudice, without caring whether or not such facts militate against or appear to favour the Catholic Church. And as I shall, in the course of the following remarks, find it necessary to point out the prejudice of some of the writers to whom I have alluded, I must first beg your attention for a few moments to the consideration of the difficulties which the young Protestant minds have to contend with in early life, to resist that early prejudice of education which so often governs the mind in maturer years.

That the Literature of England is anti-Catholic by prescription, and anti-Catholic in all its departments, scarcely requires a proof here. In Arrowsmith's Geography, one of the common school books of England, from pages 161 to 168, inclusive, there is common mention made of the "Apostacies of Rome and Mahomet, the absurd creed of "Catholics—their system of imposture, deceit and falsehood. Shocking to the reason of thinking men. Shocking and disgusting details of the Papal supremacy," &c., &c.

We have in Entinck's Spelling and Pronouncing Dictionary for the use of Schools, Stereotype edition, by Sims & McIntyre, Belfast, the word *Antichrist*, explained,

"One who opposes Christ—the Pope." In Pinnock's Catechism of English history for the use of Schools, in answer to "What is meant by the Reformation?" it is stated: "By the Reformation is meant the reforming of "the Christian Religion from the errors of Popery." In answer to the question, "What was the Gunpowder Plot?" It is sated: "*A scheme of the Roman Catholics* to blow "up both Houses of Parliament, when the King, Princes, "Lords and Commons should be assembled, 5th Nov., "1605." And further on in pages 222-3 it is stated, that "the Roman Catholic religion is the only one tolerated throughout the Pope's dominions—the Pope's *sons are called his nephews*, and the custom of enriching them is called Nepotism"!! And in "Goldsmith's Geography for the use of Schools and young persons," we are gravely told, "that the complexion of Irish females of the lower "order *resembles the colour of smoked ham*"!! Why this is worse than the character Tasso gave of our forefathers, when he called them "irsuti," "hairy-men."

Now, surely it would be a libel on the great bulk of the educated Protestants of the present day to suppose that they believe such trash as I have cited, (and space allows me to cite only very few;) and yet, strange to say, they permit such absurd and *notorious falsehoods* to disgrace the books from which information is sought to be impressed on the tender minds of their children, which cannot have any useful tendency in after life, unless, indeed, it be considered useful to fill their minds with false notions about their Catholic neighbours. But it is not in such humble authors only, as I have just designated, that we find reckless prejudiced ignorance, or a wilful desire to misrepresent anything relating to the Catholic Church or its dignitaries. Cicero compared the field of classic literature to "a place of relaxation where all bitterness was forgotten," but it is to be regretted that such is not the case in our days. Some years ago an edition of Livy, with English notes, was published in Dublin by a Mr. Prenderville, a scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, and in the preface or life of Livy the editor contrived—although he acknowledged it was not pertinent to the subject—to introduce the old exploded charge against Pope Gregory

the Great of having burned the Palatine Library at Rome, fancying, I suppose, that the work would be more palatable to the taste of most of his patrons by having "a fling at the Pope." He says:—

"When the Empire was dismembered, and the Chair of the Pontiff seated in the place of the throne of the Cæsars, *the tolerant and sober spirit of the Gospel was for a time forgotten*, and the dark and sullen genius of superstition, that is eve. deaf to the voice of reason, and shrinks with horror from the light of knowledge, ruled the world. Then a false and mistaken zeal for religion completed the devastation of unlettered barbarism. *The Monks of that period were foremost in their crusade against Literature*—though afterwards it must be confessed it owed obligations to some of them. And Pope Gregory the Great, one of that order, that he may at one fell swoop abolish all heathen recollections and heathen learning, in a pious fury—set fire to the Palatine Library, the great arsenal of all the learning of antiquity, and burnt it to ashes. It is said Livy was the chief object of his holy animosity."—pp. 12 and 13.

In detailing the work of destruction in the East under the followers of Mahomet, and the burning of the great Library of Alexandria, Mr. Prenderville thus concludes:

"So that, so far from enquiring why the works of these great lights of antiquity, those fathers and ornaments of History, Poetry, Science and Philosophy, whose very names are enough to awaken high emotions, have not been *wafted down the stream of time*, our wonder should be, that a single fragment had been saved from the universal wreck, made by barbarians, infidels, monks and fanatics."

Now, here we have a sad specimen of reckless *assertion* from Mr. Prenderville, without having the candour to produce any authority whatever, it must be presumed, because he could find none to produce, unless such as would be as doubtful as himself. It can scarcely be supposed that a scholar of T. C. D., with access to the library of that University, would have approached his subject without consulting the learned researches of Bayle, of Barbeyrac, of Gibbon, either of whose works would have informed him quite differently from what he has stated. If he did read these authorities, he has *wilfully* mistated as true what they assert to be false; and if he did not read them and has given no authority, we may easily conclude that he made the assertion to pander to the bigotry of a certain class of his readers, without caring whether it was true or false, however derogatory to the character of a scholar it was in him to have done so. It is scarcely possible to find

any work written with more virulence than is that of Bayle's against St. Gregory, in which he raked up all the unfounded gossip he could, not only against the actions, but even against the *intentions* of the Saint; and yet when he comes to consider the story of burning the Library in question, he says—vol. 2, page 1385:—

"It is not certain that Gregory commanded the noble monuments of the ancient magnificence of Rome to be destroyed, in order to prevent the strangers who visited the City from bestowing more attention on the triumphal arches, &c., than on holy things. The same may be said of having burned an immense number of Pagan Books, particularly those of the historian Livy."

And in a note at the foot of the page he adds:—

"I have not met this except in *Johannes Sarisberiensis*, and therefore do not *give much credit to it*."

Barbeyrac, who also wrote in very unmeasured language towards St. Gregory, says in the 17th chapter and page 332:—

"I shall not here advance the charge which has been made against this Pontiff, of having burned, through a mistaken zeal, an immense number of pagan works. The accusation is not sufficiently substantiated."

Gibbon, of whose infidelity there is no doubt, at page 449, vol. 5, Quarto Edition, in alluding to the report of Pope Gregory having attacked the temples and the statues of the City, and burning the Palatine Library, says:—

"But *the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and recent.* The Temple of Peace, the Theatre of Marcellus, *have been demolished by the slow operation of ages*, and a formal proscription would have multiplied the copies of Virgil and Livy in the countries which are not subject to the ecclesiast dictator."*

* Saint Gregory the Great died in the year 604, on the 25th January, and as a matter of course, so great a Saint, a Pope, and a Prince, would soon have found a biographer of the highest order of talent. Accordingly we have two early lives of the Saint by the Deacons John and Paul, and in neither of these, nor in any other history of the time, is there the slightest allusion to the burning of the Palatine Library, which, if done, could not be other than *a notorious fact at the time.* But the *first* mention to be found of it is about 600 years afterwards. John of Salisbury, a Priest of Canterbury, and who it appears was somewhat of a wit, kept some kind of a memorandum or Journal of eccentric occurrences as well as *traditional* reminiscenes. Amongst the latter was the report of the burning of the Palatine Library by St. Gregory the Great. After the death of John of Salisbury, in 1194, his fragmentary papers fell into the hands of Mezeray, a French historian, who published them in French, under the title of "Vanites des Cours," which, in English, may be called *Wanderings or Follies of the* ~~Popes~~ Court. Further on in

With such proofs of what writers will descend to, from the very lowest to the highest, regardless of all truthful history, for the purpose of maligning the dignitaries and doctrines of the Catholic Church, and poisoning the youthful minds of the rising generation, about the "foul idolatries," "the horrid superstitions," "the profligacy of prelates," "the fraud and falsehood of priests—their hostility to science and literature—the besotted ignorance of the people, &c., &c."—the wonder is not that so many of our Protestant brethren are prejudiced against the Catholics, but that even a respectable few of them rise superior to such early inculcation, to examine and judge for themselves.

These few remarks on the prejudice of English Protestant writers may help to account for the motives of those whose works I shall have to bring under notice on the life of Galileo and the Roman Inquisition. Let it not, however, be supposed that they are intended to foster any ill will towards our dissenting brethren. It is really hoped it may have an effect directly the reverse, by showing that where they are bigotted, it is more excuseable in consequence of their early instructions, and that where they do rise superior to such teaching, they are the more to be respected and beloved. And there can be very little doubt, if both Protestants and Catholics were to better understand their relative positions, and look at them in a truly Christian spirit, or a purely philosophical point of view, they would "agree to differ" in opinion on religious matters without disturbing the social harmony which should exist in every well regulated community for the mutual advantage of both.

In the first place, such writers as I have just referred to, only expose their ignorance of the subject on which they undertake to write, when they attempt to identify the Roman Inquisition with the Catholic Church and its dog-

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the same work is another tradition repeated, to the effect, that "after the "death of the Emperor Trajan, because he had in his life time bestowed some "favour on St. Gregory, the Saint wept and prayed until it was revealed to "him that Trajan's soul was released from hell, with an injunction, however, "that he should not again intercede for an infidel." These things passed off as only laughable, until after the reformation, when every means were sought to find fault with the Church.

mas. From the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles, and endowed them with the gift of tongues, and with strength and courage to execute the commission which they had previously received from our divine Saviour, to "go and teach all nations," until the beginning of the 13th century, there was no such thing as the Inquisition heard of, although few persons will be found to assert that the Church was not well established throughout the then known world up to that period. During that 1200 years of its existence, whenever any new doctrine or heresy, contrary to the ancient canons, was broached, and through the authority of some of the civil powers, causing distractions or disorders amongst the faithful, it was the practice of the Church to call a general Council, in order to define the fallacy of the new sect. The third Council of Latteran was held in March, 1179, at which the doctrines of the sect called the "Albigenses" were examined and condemned. The Albigenses became a very powerful sect in the South of France towards the middle of the twelfth century. They preached the doctrine of there being "two Gods and Lords, good and evil, "—that all things good and evil were created by the "devil, or the evil god—that all the teachings of the "Church were false—that marriage was unlawful—that "there was no incarnation of Christ, and no resurrection of "bodies—that the souls of men were spirits banished from "heaven for their transgressions." And notwithstanding the abominable absurdity and profanation of such doctrines, yet strange to say, they found followers and sympathisers; and under the fostering protection of Raymond, Earl of Toulouse, about the year 1209, they raised an army of nearly 100,000 men, and ravaged whole districts of country —banished Bishops and Priests—sacked and razed churches and monasteries, leaving nothing behind them but the desolate marks of their most atrocious crimes and sacrileges, before any sufficient force could be brought against them. Yet these are the wretches, after being dispersed and scattered by the strong arm of the law and regularly constituted authorities—whom the infidel Hume, (as Cobbet called him), pronounced to be "the most innocent and inoffensive "of mankind." It was after the dispersion of the Albi-

genses, when they scattered through different parts of Europe, and particularly in Italy, that the Roman Government became alarmed for the tranquility of the state, and fearing that, if allowed to propagate their doctrines wherever they settled, a similar civil war might be engendered, the same as that only just suppressed at the price of so much blood—the Inquisition was instituted at Rome. It was a sort of half Ecclesiastical, half Civil Police establishment, "for the punishment and prevention of every attempt "to disturb the religious tranquility of the people." The constitution of the Inquisition is far from being uniform, varying according to the wisdom or caprice of the politicians who adopted it in the different places where it was established. It is said to be very cruel in Spain—more mild and sparing of human life in Rome, and has been adopted only in few countries. But its adoption or rejection never had any thing to do with the doctrine or belief of the Catholic Church. Indeed, some of the most vigorous attacks ever made on the constitution of the Inquisition have been made by Catholic writers, amongst whom may be mentioned the names of Fleury and Bercastel, whose strong attachments to the Catholic faith admit of no doubt.

So much, then, for the so-called infallibility of the Roman Inquisition, and its bearing on the infallibility of the dogmas of the Church. It is the officers of the Inquisition only, and not the Pope, who sign any decree or censure for any transgression of its rules or the laws by which it acts; and whether these officers be cardinals or laymen, or both, whether right or wrong, it cannot compromise the Pope, or any part of the Catholic doctrine. But even supposing that any decision of the Inquisition required the Pope's sanction and signature ere it could be carried into execution, such signature or sanction would be only given according to the Civil Law of the state, which only required his signature as *temporal or civil ruler*, the same as the Queen of Spain or the Queen of England would sign any document which the law required, ere it could be legally enforced, without affecting in the slightest degree the religion of either state. And the civil law of Rome—even though such law be administered by a clergyman—is no more binding on the conscience of Catholics through-

out any other part of the world, than is the administration of the law in China on the conscience of Queen Victoria or the Emperor of Russia. The canon law of the universal Church is the only law which extends to Catholics in all parts of the world; and it is with respect to the administration of the canon law *alone* (and not the civil law), that Catholics ever believed the Pope and his councils to be infallible. And when our divine Saviour said to his apostles, "Go teach all nations whatsoever I command you," he did not mention Astronomy or Philosophy. This distinction between the canon law and the civil or law of the land is too often overlooked or not understood by English writers, because their church has been *created by the civil law, and governed by it;* and when any difficulty arises amongst the church dignitaries, an appeal is always made to the civil power, such as the late celebrated "Gorham case," in which Lord John Russell set the Bishop's authority at defiance, and appointed a Bishop himself, whereas the Universal Catholic Church always held to the divine or canon law delivered by Christ to the apostles, and by them to their successors, from one generation to another, to the present day; and when any serious differences of opinion arise amongst the church authorities, particularly in interpreting Scripture, it has been settled by the decrees of a general Council, which must be always called by the Pope, and presided over by him, or a Legate appointed by him, to make it legal. There is, however, no difficulty to refer to dates and unquestionable authorities, to show that the identical doctrine for which Galileo was said to be condemned in Rome, was publicly taught there for nearly *a century before*, by and with the sanction, and under the patronage, of the dignitaries of the Church.

The first account of the Heliocentric doctrine, which I believe there is to be found in the annals of the sciences, is that of Nicholas, the Cusan, at Rome. He was called the *Cusan* from the name of the little town in the northern mountains of the kingdom of Naples, which had the honor of his birth and early education. He afterwards studied in Rome and read his course of theology under Cardinal *Giuliano Cesarini*. Although quite a stranger, and without friends in the "Eternal City," he was not afraid to

proclaim his views in opposition to the peripatetic dogmatism—the startling proposition that "*the earth moves—the sun is at rest*," and answered the objections from the senses by contending, that the illusory impression arises from the same cause which makes one in a ship in motion fancy the objects on shore to be receding from him. He not only proclaimed his views as best he could, verbally, but committed them to writing, and dedicated the same to his former preceptor in canon law, the Cardinal Cesarini, before named, who, by way of rewarding his talents, obtained for him the Archdeaconcy of Liego. And afterwards at the Council of Basil, in the year 1431, he (the Cusan) presented to that august and learned assembly of Churchmen a treatise upon the disorders which had crept into the Calendar, and a proposal for its reformation. Here, then, we have Archdeacon Nicholas the Cusan, before that celebrated Council, composed of Cardinals, Prelates and Doctors of the Church, declaring his views of the new theory of the motion of the earth ; and yet so far from any attempt being made to silence him or forbid his doctrine, that the enlightened Pope Nicholas V. raised him to the dignity of Cardinal, and appointed him to the Bishopric of Brixen. And during the remaining years of his life he was honored by the four succeeding Pontiffs for his wisdom and integrity, and entrusted by them with the most important affairs of the Government in the capacity of Legate to several parts, until his death in 1464. Surely this does not look like a punishment from the Court of Rome on the man of science. And, moreover, the works or writings left behind by Cardinal Nicholas, the Cusan, were soon taken up and printed under the patronage of Cardinal Amboise.

The next who took up the subject was *Leonardo da Vinci*, who, though a young man when Cusa died, afterwards became so celebrated for his learning, having written a treatise on the Fall of Bodies and the Earth's Motion. Shortly afterwards we have Copernicus—a young adventurer from Poland—who, after he acquired the best Mathematical education he could obtain at the University of Cracow, made his way to Bologna, the capital of one of the states of the Church, where he became an assistant teacher of Mathematics to Dominick Marie Ferrara, and

where he remained until about the year 1500, when he was invited to Rome by Pope Paul the Third, who gave him a Professorship in his own University, where he gave public lectures on Astronomy and Philosophy and the Revolution of the Earth, to large audiences—as many as 2000 on some occasions, according to *Jacquier's History of Philosophical Institutes.* Now, most of the historians of the time think it was after Copernicus went to Rome that he acquired a knowledge of the earth's motion. The accomplished Italian historian Tiraboschi thinks he got the information from his own preceptor and friend Novara; but Thomas Cornelio says, that the prevalent opinion was, that the papers of Jerome of Talavia, "who gave a good deal of thought to that subject," fell into the hands of Copernicus, and were the immediate cause of concentrating his great mind and attention on that subject: and Cornelio is supported in that opinion by another writer, named Barbieri. And Salfi, his continuator, as well as Ginghene, think it certain that it was after Copernicus's arrival in Rome that he took up the subject for investigation. The Bishop of Varmie, Copernicus's uncle, having provided a situation for him in his own diocese, he left Rome and dedicated as much spare time as he could to the preparation of his work "*On the Revolution of the Celestial Orbs.*" In the meantime we find Celio Calcagnini, the friend and companion of Cardinal Hyppolite D'Este, after a tour in Germany and the neighbouring countries, in the year 1518, setting up publicly to prove "Quod Cælum stet, terra autem moveatur," in consequence of which he was taken into favour by two successive Pontiffs, the great patrons of learning, Clement the VII. and Paul the III., who, in token of their estimation of him, attached him to the Papal Court, as Proto Notary Apostolic. And we are further informed by the Italian historians, Marini and Salfi, that in the year 1533 (10 years before Copernicus's "De Revolutionistus") Pope Clement VII. presented a volume on the Revolution of the Earth to John Albert Widmanstadt, a German, who came to Rome at the Pope's request, to deliver lectures on Astronomy in the Vatican Gardens, and who afterwards became Private Secretary to his Holiness. The book is still preserved in the Royal Library of

Munich; and in the fly leaf is written, in the handwriting of Widmanstadt, that, "*the book was presented to him by "the Pope, in testimony of the gratification which his Holi-"ness derived from his lectures.*" We are not informed whether or not the Pope himself was the author of the book; but the circumstance is sufficient to show, that the Pope had no objection to having the science propagated both in public and private.

Pope Paul III. ascended the throne in the year 1536. He is described by the historians Ariosto, Fracastoro, and Calcagnini as one of the first philosophers of the age, and the most distinguished for his patronage of the sciences. Shortly after this, Copernicus, who had been long preparing his work on the new theory—in his retreat on the banks of the Vistula in Poland—appealed to the Pope, not only against the scriptural attacks made on him by some of the inferior ecclesiastics and others; but also for the means of getting the work printed, and concludes his letter with these words: "*What I have done in this "matter, I submit principally to your Holiness, and then to "the judgment of all learned Mathematicians.*" Nor was his appeal in vain. The successor of St. Peter lent the high protection of his name to Copernicus, and Cardinal Scomberg charged himself with the expense of the publication as the work progressed—for at that time printing could not be done so cheap or so fast as at present; and although Cardinal Scomberg died ere the work was finished, another Churchman, in the person of Gissio, Bishop of Culm, in Bohemia, advanced the "*needful*" to bring the publication to a successful issue, bearing on its front the sanction of the head of the Catholic world, in the year 1543.

Now, I fear many of my hearers have already enquired of themselves, what has all this to do do with Galileo? I answer, it is a part of the proof which is offered against the calumnies heaped on the Catholic Church and its dignitaries, and shows conclusively that, instead of the authorities of the Church being opposed to the cultivation of science, they gave it the greatest encouragement possible, even eighty or one hundred years before Galileo was heard of. But independent of the foregoing, I can adduce un-

questionable proof that Galileo *was never condemned for his science, but prohibited from connecting theology with it.*

About the year 1828 an Englishman named Drinkwater —(a very popular name for the Sons of Temperance,) published a life of Galileo, which is identical with that contained in the Library of Useful Knowledge, which has been pronounced a work of considerable merit as to its literary research, but quite below par in its veracity where the Catholic Church or its dignitaries are concerned. There may be a reasonable allowance made for a writer while he quotes another writer, even though of doubtful authenticity; but when a writer quotes in only a garbled way from an author of high repute, and then forces a false construction or meaning on it, to suit his own prejudiced views, it is unpardonable, and renders him unworthy of credence in any thing, without a strict investigation. The accomplished Italian historian Tiraboschi, before named, in his mention of the condemnation of Galileo, said, "This too rigorous censure had proceeded solely from the "Inquisition of Rome, and that amongst the most zealous "Catholics not one had ever attributed to that tribunal the "privileges of infallibility." This text Mr. Drinkwater, in his 13th chapter of the Life of Galileo, in the Library of Useful Knowledge, has described as "an attempt to "draw a somewhat subtle distinction between the Bulls of "the Popes and the Inquisitorial decrees sanctioned and "approved by him," although there is not one word in the Italian's remarks concerning Bulls of the Popes. Mr. Drinkwater further describes Tiraboschi as regarding it "*as a special mark of grace, that the head of the Church* "*was not permitted to compromise his infallible character by* "*formally condemning the opinions of Capernicus,*" although in this case neither is one word in the original regarding the head of the Church, or his infallible character, or his condemning the opinions of Copernicus! After thus misrepresenting the Italian, Mr. Drinkwater's next effort is to disprove him, which he attempts by producing some antiquated Bull of Sixtus V., establishing "*a censorship* "*of the press, under the title of the Congregation of the* "*Index*, and directing that after the members of the Con- "gregation shall have duly examined each work, and made

"their report thereon to the reigning Pontiff, they shall "proceed by, and with his authority to condemn the same." Such is the proof which Mr. Drinkwater brings forward to prove the belief of Catholics in the *infallibility of the Inquisition*, although the Congregation of the Index has about as much to do with the Inquisition as it has with "the man in the moon," or as much as either has with *infallibility*. Sixtus V. ascended the throne in 1585, more than 200 years after the establishment of the Inquisition, as has been already shewn. This is the great error which most English Protestant writers fall into—that of not allowing the Professors of the Catholic Religion to interpret *their own acts and intentions*, which must be better understood by them than by Protestants, many of whom, like Pope in the discussion with McGuire, perhaps, would be puzzled to give a sound definition of their own religious belief, much less that of the Catholics. How very different it is with the German Protestants of literary research will be seen by the works of the aimable and celebrated *Christian Wolfe*, who says, in his Elements of Astronomy, published at Paris, 4th chapter of the 2nd edition, that "there is nothing in the decrees or principles of the "Catholic Church to hinder the most scrupulous Catholic "from embracing whatever side of the question may seem "best to him." Mr. Drinkwater quotes that Bailli says, "the utmost endeavours of Lalande, (a French historian), "when at Rome, to obtain that Galileo's work should be "erased from the Index, were entirely ineffectual, in con-"sequence of the decree which had been fulminated against "him.; and, in fact, both it and the Book of Copernicus, "*Nisi Corrigatur*, are still to be seen on the forbidden list "of 1828." Although Drinkwater, in this instance, pretends to take the shelter of Bailli's name for the lie, yet he ought to have read Lalande himself, whose work is in almost every respectable library. Now, bear in mind that 1828 is the date of the forbidden list given by Mr. Drinkwater, and Lalande's work was published at Venice in 1769, just 59 years before. It is called, "Voyage en Italie," and in Book the 5th, chap. 3, pages 48 and 49 of that work, Lalande speaking of the Index, says:—"On est surpris de "voir dans ce catalogue des livres tels que ceux de Coper-

"nic, de Boerhaave, qui nous paroissent bien éloignées de "tout soupçon d'hérésie; mais il y a dans les hypotheses "des Physiciens et des Astronomes des choses qui paroissent "quelques fois dangereuses dans leurs conséquences éloig- "nées, et cela suffit pour mettre un livre à l'Index; on a "cependant consenti dans la dernière édition"—(a little "before he says *depuis quelques années*")—à supprimer "l'article qui comprenoit *tous les livres où l'on soutient le "mouvement de la terre:* ce système ci bien demontré *ac- "tuellement* a enfin trouvé grace devant la Congrégation de "l'Index; mais il a fallu de la part de savans bien de "sollicitations et de démarches." Thus freely rendered into English:—

"One is surprised to see in this catalogue of books such as those of Copernicus, of Boerhaave, which appear to us very far from all suspicion of heresy, but there are in the hypotheses of the Natural Philosophers and of the Astronomers things which sometimes appear dangerous in their ultimate consequences, and that suffices to place a book on the Index. They have nevertheless consented (some years ago) to suppress the article which comprehends all the books which support the movement of the earth. The system being now sufficiently demonstrated, has at last found grace before the Congregation of the Index."

But although Drinkwater may possibly not have read Lalande, he professes to have read Delambre, another French author, who positively states that Pope Benedict XIV. cancelled the decree of the Index against Galileo's works; and although we are not informed of the particular year, yet we have it in Gahan's History of the Church, that Benedict XIV. ascended the throne in 1740, and died in 1759, so that Drinkwater must have wilfully suppressed Delambre's statement, while he gave currency to Bailli's false quotation from Lalande. But supposing it to be in the last year of Benedict's reign that he cancelled the decree of the Index, it would make it 69 years cancelled before the year 1828, when Drinkwater says, "the decree "was in full force." So much for the truthfulness of his ideas of infallibility. I could also easily show the falsehood and prejudice of the writer in Lardner's Cyclopedia, a Mr. Powell, a Graduate and Professor of Geometry in Oxford University, who wrote a History of Philosophy in 1837, but it would far exceed the limits to which I am circumscribed in these remarks; and moreover, Powell, in

his principal charge against the Inquisition, for the condemnation of Giordano Bruno for heresy, is contradicted by the Rev. Mr. Whewell, of Cambridge University, who says, in his History of the Inductive Sciences, published also in 1837, vol. 1, page 384:—That it "*was not for his "opinions on Astronomy that Bruno was condemned, but for "a work published in England, dedicated to Sir Philip "Sydney.*" And Montucla says, that by his rashness in visiting Italy after publishing such a *blasphemous* and *treasonable* work, he compelled the Government to act against him.* He had been banished from Wirtemburg for his blasphemy in pronouncing the *Panegyric of the Devil*, after he turned Lutheran from that of Calvinism, which he professed in Geneva, from whence he was also banished for his misdeeds.

Galileo was born in Florence, in Tuscany, of noble parents, in the year 1564. His father at first designed him for the study of Medicine, but he showed from early age a strong inclination for Philosophy and the Mathematics, and made such rapid progress in these sciences that at the age of 28 he was chosen Professor of Mathematics in the University of Padua. It was here he constructed his great Telescope, by which he ascertained the Planetary system. As soon as he had it completed, he started for Rome, being the only spot in Europe where he knew science was most encouraged, and where it became his exalted privilege to make known those startling revelations, which, at the time, became the astonishment of mankind; and so engrossed did his mind become with the propriety of going to Rome, against the remonstrance of the Court in whose service he was employed, that he would not even postpone his visit for a short time, but remarked sharply to the representations of Secretary Vinta:—"That if he, as Professor of Astronomy, showed "himself anxious about going to Rome, he ought in con-"sideration of the truths he shall there have to announce, "and their bearing on Astronomy, by the changes and "additions they will necessitate, not only to be excused, "but seconded in thus making palpable and plain the things "that by God's help he had discovered."

* Let this be borne in mind that the Inquisition had no power over the person of Bruno until he was found within its jurisdiction.

The result justified these cheering anticipations. His enthusiastic reception in Rome exceeded even his most sanguine expectations. Gardens and palaces were flung open for his use; and Cardinals and Prelates were his admiring attendants. Even Bellarmine, who had then recently reaped the highest honours in another and remote field of intellectual labour, partook of the general interest, and wrote to the Astronomical School of his own order in the Roman College, to ascertain, "if they were satisfied "with the new theory announced by Galileo." He was answered in the affirmative, and "*that there was no ques-*"*tioning it.*" And yet these are the same Jesuits who have been reported by historians of Mr. Drinkwater's and Mr. Powel's caste to have invoked the censures of the Church on Galileo for the new theory.

That there were many among the inferior clergy who wrote and preached against Galileo, is beyond dispute; but where he received most opposition of that kind was on his return to his own native province, and even from some of his own former pupils, some of the Tuscan ecclesiastics indulged in a most intemperate zeal in preaching from the pulpit against "the sacrilege of sending this world spinning "in wide space round the sun;" but such tirades found no sympathy in Rome. The eminent ecclesiastic and philosopher, Castelli, in writing from Rome to his friend in Florence said:—

"I have not spoken to one who does not deem it great impertinence in preachers to mount their pulpits, to treat of such high professorlike matters before women and a people where there are so few to understand them."

In this state of things Galileo conceived the plan of trying to reconcile his theory to the Scripture texts, or rather to interpret the Scripture to agree with his theory, as the surest way of overcoming all opposition, if he could only get it so proclaimed by the Court of Rome. Emboldened by his former reception in Rome, he addressed a letter in 1612 to Cardinal Conti, by way of inquiry on this subject. The Cardinal's reply bears date 12th July of the same year, and after stating that the texts of Scripture, which assert that *the Earth stands*, would admit of being so construed as to mean merely its stability or permanence, he says:—

"But when it is said that the sun goes round, and the heavens move, the

only interpretation that can be proposed by the advocates of the new views, is, that they speak after the common manner of the people, which mode of explaining cannot be admitted without great necessity; nevertheless, Diego a Stunica, (a Spanish theologian), says the earth's motion is more in conformity with the Scripture. His interpretation, however, is not followed."

In the year 1613 Castelli, before named, the friend and favourite pupil of Galileo, was appointed to the Mathematical Chair in the University of Pisa, and when the Provost, Monsignor Reverendissimo Arturo D'Elci, was giving him instructions, he told him he might take every opportunity of teaching the new theory of the earth's motions *as probable*, provided he did not put it forward from the authority of his Chair, as the declared opinion of the school. Surely this does not look as if the Church authorities considered it heresy to teach the new doctrines.

Galileo, however, was determined to attach the Scripture or its authority to his favourite theory, and corresponded with Castelli at Pisa, and the Grand Duchess Christina, urging his views in full. But, by some means or other, one of his letters to Castelli fell into the hands of one Lorini, a Dominican Friar, at Tuscany, and a violent opponent of Galileo; and with a copy of this letter he proceeded to Rome to lay his complaint before the Inquisition. But the Inquisition demanded the original, which Lorini failed to produce, and so the matter ended. This was in February, 1615. Venturi states, that on the last day of this same month, Ciampoli, the friend of Galileo, and afterwards Secretary to Pope Urban the VIII., wrote to him (Galileo) informing him what Cardinal Barberini said of him, viz:

"That he (Galileo) should not travel out of the limits of Physics and Mathematics, but confine himself to such reasonings as Ptolemy used, because—declaring the views of Scripture—the theologians claim to be their own particular province."

On the 21st March, of the same year, the same writer again addressed his friend as follows:—

"I have been this morning, together with Monsignor Dini, to the Cardinal del Monte, who told us he has lately had a long conversation with *Cardinal Bellarmine on the subject of the new opinions, and that the conclusion was, that by confining himself to the system and its* DEMONSTRATION, without interfering with the Scriptures, the interpretation of which they wish to have confined to the Theological Professors, approved and authorised for the purpose, Galileo would be secure against any contradiction; but that otherwise explications of the Scripture, however in-

genious, will be admitted with difficulty when they depart from the common opinion of the Fathers."

And on the 15th April, the same year, Bishop Dini again wrote to his friend, and says:—

"Bellarmine *remarked* to me, that there was no question about Galileo, as his case was dismissed, and that by pursuing the course mentioned—that of speaking as a Mathematician—he would be put to no trouble."

Venturi quotes Nelli for this.

Now, the circumstance of quashing the prosecution for want of the original letter, upon which, or the copy of which, the complaint was laid, shows that the Inquisitors had no desire to move in the matter at all, because if they had, they might easily call on Castelli, to whom the letter was written, to either produce the letter, or prove if the copy presented by Lorini was a correct one. All this time Galileo was not as much as cited before the Inquisitors, nor annoyed in any way by them.

Prince Cesi, that ornament and patron of science, wrote to his friend in Florence, dated 7th March, 1615, in which he stated that "the preceptor of Popes, the talented Jesuit "Torquato de Cuppis, is delivering lectures in the Roman "College (Bellarmine's own), in support of the Copernican "doctrine;" while in Sapienza—the Pope's own University—another Jesuit is stated by the historian Nelli to be "delivering lectures on the same subject." So much for the far-famed hostility of the Jesuits to the new science!

Another Jesuit of the name of Grassi, who wrote a work caled the "*Astronomical Balance*," and who has been said to have entertained a jealousy against his rival in science (Galileo) in 1624, some time after Bellarmine's death, stated that he found among the papers of the deceased, in Bellarmine's own handwriting, his views on Galileo's work in these words: "When *a demonstration* shall be found to "establish the earth's motion, it will be proper to interpret "the Scriptures otherwise than they have hitherto been, "in these passages where mention is made of the stability of the earth and of the movement "of the heavens." This passage is to be found in Guiducci's Letters of 6th and 13th September, 1624, and cited by Venturi and Nelli. Bartoli, another Jesuit and contemporary of Bellarmine, and also his biographer, asserts that papers remained in his hands

in Bellarmine's handwriting, which showed that the Cardinal never doubted THE TRUTH OF GALILEO'S DOCTRINE; but only the prudence of his manner of propounding it through the Scriptures.

Now, it must be borne in mind, that up to this period there was no *demonstrative proof* of the earth's motion given by Galileo or any one else, unless that of the flux and reflux of the tides offered by Galileo, who considered *that* the very climax of conviction, and stated that "this *argument* "*in particular* enters with an extraordinary force and vigour "into men's ears." He dedicated the whole of the fourth day of the dialoghi to the development of this argument, and concludes by scoffing at the simplicity of Kepler, "particularly after his (Galileo's) satisfactory explanation "of the phenomena, *that he should lend his ear and assent* "*to such occult properties, as the moon's influence on the* "*tides, and other like puerilities.*" This ought to satisfy any thinking mind, not only of the propriety, but the *necessity* of the Church not allowing such a frail hypothesis as it was at that time to be mixed up with the Scriptural proofs; and it shows also even Galileo's own shallow depth of knowledge on the subject, when he considered it only *puerility* in Kepler to think that the moon had any effect on the tides! In order to arrive at a correct view of the state of the sciences at that period, I am compelled to quote a passage from the accomplished Delambre, before mentioned. In *reviewing* his own work, written some years before, he says:—

"Researches then prosecuted with the most scrupulous exactness have failed to bring to light any other Astronomy than that of the Greeks. The only things to be met with, from the most remote antiquity to the epoch of Copernicus, are the ideas of Hipparchus and Ptolemy. Arabians, Persians, Tartars, Indians, Chinese, Europeans, it is all one. Every where, and at all times, the earth is motionless in the centre of the planetary movements. All appearances were sufficiently accounted for—all observed phenomena were calculated in this system, by the aid of certain hypotheses, without any prominent error in the results occurring to inspire the slightest mistrust in the correctness of the fundamental idea."

To this universal acquiescence in the immobility of the earth, even the Pythagorean doctrine formed no exception, not only because confined to the school in which it had its birth, but also because it owed its origin, not to any reasoned

or consistent view, but to the spirit of disputation that prevailed in the ancient schools, and which infallibly caused whatever opinion was held in any one, its opposite, for that sole reason, should be maintained in the next. Thus the Copernican idea, though broached in the ancient schools, was broached only to be rejected; so that when taken up in modern times, it was "*a paradox.*" And such, says Mr. Whewell, "it appeared in the hands of Cardinal "Cusa, though it was undoubted that that illustrious writer "was serious in proposing it." The idea, then, was new —unheard of—opposed to all preconceived notions on the subject—opposed to the senses—opposed to the obvious and literal meaning of the divine Word, and to its popular interpretation,—in a word paradoxical, and one for which the author had to draw wholly on his own resources.

"And what solid reason, (Delambre asks), "could induce the ancients to disbelieve the evidences of their senses? Yes, and even despite the immense progress which Astronomy has subsequently made, have the moderns themselves been able to allege any one direct proof of the diurnal motion of the earth, previous to the voyage of Recher to Cayenne, (in South America), when he was obliged to shorten his pendulum? Have they been able to discover one positive demonstration to the point, to prove the annual revolution of the earth, before Rœmur measured the velocity of light; and Bradly had observed and calculated the phenomena of aberration? Previous to these discoveries, and to that of universal gravitation, (made many a long year after Galileo's death), were not the most decided Copernicans reduced to mere probabilities?—were they not obliged to confine themselves to preaching up the simplicity of the Copernican system, as compared with the absurd complexity of that of Ptolemy?"

So much then for the first assumption of Galileo, that his system WAS *demonstrated.*

The historian, M. Bergier, stated that "*Galileo was not prosecuted for being a good astronomer but a bad theologian.*" This Mr. Drinkwater attempts to controvert, by quoting a *part* of a letter written by Galileo to the Grand Duchess Christina; although Nelli, Montucla, Delambre, and in our days, Biot, all give the same letter as "one in which "Galileo undertook to prove *theologically and by reasons* "*drawn from the Fathers, that the terms of Scripture might* "*be reconciled with his new doctrine on the constitution of* "*the universe.*" For this Drinkwater endeavours to excuse Galileo, by saying it was the indecent attacks of the Dominican Friar Caccini that drove him to it in self-defence.

But we have already seen that both the letters to Castilli, (upon which the first complaint was made against him to the Inquisition), and to the Grand Duchess, were written before this so-called attack; but even were it not so, it proves that the question was an open one, as so many of the superior clergy were favourable to the science, although some of the inferior ones were opposed to it; whereas, if once sentence were passed by the Church there would have been no more difference of opinion amongst the clergy on the subject.*

On the 23rd March of the same year (1615) Galileo wrote an argumentative letter, enforcing his views as to the Scriptural agreement with his favourite doctrine, to his friend Bishop Dini, expressly urging him to submit it to the perusal "of *Bellarmine and the Jesuits, as being those who "knew most about such things.*" In Dini's reply, dated 2nd May, 1615, he says:—

"It appears to our friend the Prince Cesi, that I should not present your letter to THAT *personage*, because he and others in authority might be irritated on *a point already gained*: which is, that you can write *as a Mathematician, and by way of hypothesis*, as they will have it that Copernicus did; and this, though not conceded by his followers, *is nevertheless sufficient that others should obtain the same result* — that of being left at liberty, provided only, as has been said, people do not invade the sanctuary."

The whole of this letter is given in Venturi's History. But unfortunately all those friendly, though significant hints from his best friends would not satisfy Galileo. He proceeded with the elaboration of the last and most for-

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*In the second volume of Hallam's Literature of Europe, published at New York, 1856, in a note at foot of page 249, he says:—

"Mr. Drinkwater seems to be mistaken in supposing that Galileo did not endeavour to prove his system compatible with Scripture. In a letter to Christina, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, the author (Brenna) of the life in Fabroni's work, tells us he argued very elaborately for that purpose. In ea videlicit epistola philosophus noster ita disserit, ut nihil etiam ab hominibus, qui omnem in sacrarum literarum studio consumpsissent aetiam aut subtillius aut verius aut etiam accuratius explicatum expectari potuerit, p. 118. It seems, in fact, to have been this over desire to prove his theory orthodox which incensed the Church against it. See an extraordinary article on this subject in the 8th No. of the Dublin Review (1838.) Many will tolerate propositions inconsistent with orthodoxy, when they are not brought into immediate juxtaposition with it."

midable of his polemical epistles, and after submitting it to the Court of Florence, and obtaining leave to depart for Rome, he started, towards the end of the year 1615, as he states in his letter to Renieri, to ascertain from the Roman Inquisition "*what he should believe on the Copernican system ;*" and in the letter and leave given him by the Grand Duke to his friend Cardinal Orsini, at Rome, it is stated :—"That he (Galileo) goes to Rome of his own "choice and accord ;" and a short time after his arrival in Rome, he writes to the Grand Duke, thanking him for his leave of absence, &c. He says :—

"I every day perceive more and more *how happy an inspiration* and excellent a resolution was mine in determining to come hither, whence I thank God and your Serene Highness, who granted me the necessary permission," &c. &c.

This letter is given in volume 1st of Fabroni's Letters. And in a letter dated 16th July, 1616, written by Galileo to his friend Picchena, at Florence, he says :—

"My affair has been brought to a close, so far as I am individually concerned; the result has been signified to me by all their Eminences, the Cardinals, who manage these affairs in the most liberal and obliging manner, with the assurance that they had felt, as it were with their own hands, no less my own candour and sincerity than the diabolical malignity and iniquitous purposes of my persecutors; so that, as far as I am concerned, I might return home at any moment."

This Letter was in allusion to the suppression by the Cardinals of the complaint of Lorini, already mentioned.

Encouraged by this success, Galileo's impetuosity and ardour of spirit would not permit him to return ; but determined to extort a decision from the Court of Rome, that

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Viscount de Chateaubriand, (Genius of Christianity), published at Baltimore, 1856, page 390, says :—

"The assertion that the system of Copernicus, proclaimed by Galileo, was condemned by the Court of Rome, is proved to be utterly unfounded in truth. Galileo was arraigned before the tribunals at Rome, not as an Astronomer, but as a bad Theologian. He was censured, not for teaching that the earth revolved round the sun, but for obstinately declaring that his opinion was contained in the Bible, and pretending that the ecclesiastical authorities should publish a decision to this effect. That such were the facts of the case, we learn from the letters of Giucciurdini and the Marquis Nicolini, both desciples and friends of Galileo, and from the letters of the distinguished Astronomer himself. Mr. Mallet du Pau, of Geneva, an impartial Protestant writer, has presented all this evidence in a lengthy dissertation, which appeared in the *Mercure de France*, July 17th, 1784."

his opinion is in accordance with Scripture, (in which he was warmly supported by Cardinal Orsini, at least in pressing the affair too hastily before the Court), and brought forth his everlasting argument of the flux and reflux of the tides. It has been already seen by the suppression of the complaint of Lorini, that either the Court or the Inquisition had no desire to meddle in the matter at all, if let alone; but Cardinal Orsini so pressed the case of his friend Galileo before the Court, to the exclusion of other business, that the Pope at last declared that "he would send the whole "affair before the Inquisition, and let it be condemned." The particulars of this statement is contained in a Despatch dated 4th March, 1616, from the Florentine Ambassador, Guicciardini, at the Court of Rome, and quoted in the works of *Bergier* and *Bercastel*. However, through the influence of Cardinals Bellarmine, Barberini, and Cajetan, it was only declared "*that it appeared to be contrary to the* "*sacred Scripture.*" Such is the account given by Francisco Buonamici dè Prato, who assisted Galileo in the cause,

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On the 8th February, 1853, Cardinal Wiseman delivered a lecture on "Science," before the Literary Institute at Leeds, in Yorkshire, England. After speaking of Galileo and his treatment at Rome, his Eminence said:—

"I cannot enter into the details of this painfully interesting subject, but I will refer you to the fifth volume of the *Dublin Review* for July, 1838. You will find the whole question investigated there, both of Galileo's treatment and of the ground of his sentence. Let me just add a few observations. Galileo was 70 years of age before what is called his persecution really commenced, that is to say, before he was formally condemned. Now, during his many preceding years he was not called to account for any of these discoveries which he had made; but, on the contrary, when he went to Rome he showed his discoveries, was highly honored, and Cardinal Barberini wrote poems upon him, conceived in most eulogistic strains. The popular assertion that he was imprisoned and cruelly treated, is justly and honorably given up by Dr. Whewell. who contents himself with denying the right of the Church to interfere in philosophical questions. Our Protestant writers of note have likewise acknowledged the falsehood of the popular opinion. And now, as to the question between him and the Inquisition, Galileo taught the system which had been openly taught in Rome by Copernicus, and which he would have been allowed to teach on, if, in an evil hour, he had not chosen to make it a theological question. When he came forward with that theory which he attempted to prove, but which, it is now agreed, he could not, and did not prove as the exclusively true theory; and insisted that it should be so received as conformable to Scripture—the moment he began to take theological grounds that tribunal interfered. He

and who wrote this account at the time in Rome at his own special request. And on the day following this decision, Galileo himself, in a letter to his friend, Picchena, tells him that—

"The result was not favourable to his enemies, the doctrine of Copernicus *not having been declared heretical*, but only as not consonant to the sacred Scriptures, whence the sole prohibition is of those works in which that consonance is maintained."

In the *Dublin Review* for July, 1838, we are informed that—

"With respect to the philosopher himself they (the Inquisition) deemed it prudent to reduce him to a total silence on the subject, yet even this step (of silencing him) they did not take but in the last resort. Commissioning one of their number (Bellarmine) to intimate to him their decision, and try, by all the arts of friendly persuasion, to give up agitating (as the Ambassador terms it) the question; and if he had a mind to hold these opinions, to hold them in peace. It was only when this last expedient failed, the Biographer in Fabbroni tells us, that Bellarmine called in the public Notary and witnesses to have him juridically bound to silence; and in doing so, dispensed with every circumstance that might tend unnecessarily to irritate his wounded pride. They did not place him at their bar; the witnesses were as few as possible; and the Cardinal furnished him with a certificate, to the effect, that they did not at all visit him with their displeasure, but left him in the enjoyment of his own opinions—opinions once more then not deemed *heretical*. He was immediately afterwards admitted to a long and

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was told again and again that he might as a philosopher hold his system as a theory. It was contended that there was no satisfactory demonstration of it yet; that when there was it would be time to interpret the Scripture according to it. In fact, the proof on which he mainly relied, a theory of the tides, is acknowledged to have been completely futile. And Lalande observes that no real and satisfactory proof existed of the system till many years later. What was Galileo doing? He was insisting on the Church to adopt a system not demonstrable, and contradictory to the words of Holy Scripture, and he would have the Scriptures bend to his theory rather than make his theory bend to the admitted view of the Holy Scriptures. Taking into account the times in which this happened, and the jealousy with which religious innovations were watched, (and here it was no Catholic dogma, but the truth of Scripture that was involved), it is no wonder that a person thus pressing forward a theory which he could not demonstrate, should have been condemned to silence. Galileo then wrote a most sarcastic work, showing that he despised the sentence, and then came that condemnation, not by the Church, but by a tribunal, all the circumstances of which have been so unfairly exaggerated. Then, Galileo was never disturbed for any thing which he really effected, nor for any of his discoveries for science, but simply for endeavouring to thrust an unproved opinion on the Church. This, I know, is a meagre outline of the case, but if you will look into the essay, (in the *Dublin Review*), which I have mentioned, you will find it fully and minutely proved."

friendly audience with the Pontiff, and dismissed with every demonstration of favour and regard. Such is the plain unvarnished statement of the facts of this (2nd) enquiry by the Inquisition into the doctrine and conduct of Galileo; *it was of his own seeking*, against the advice not only of his declared friends, but of some of his judges; it arose out of an attempt on the philosopher's part to give the law in the interpretation of Scripture—was marked by heat and intemperance on his side, by kindness and good feeling on that of the Court,—it left him the enjoyment of his opinions, but reduced him, as "*an ecclesiastical precaution*," (to use the words of Venturi), to an absolute silence. In doing so, it warred not with the doctrine, for it left every other teacher to enforce the same views; nay, scarcely was the ink dry on the paper that recorded this decision, when the Chair of Astronomy in the Pope's own University of Bologna, vacant by the death of Magini, was offered to the immortal Keplar: that is, the instruction of the rising generation in heretical Astronomy (bless the mark!) is sought to be placed by Rome itself in the hands of, after Galileo, the most active and, before Galileo and all others, the most efficient advocate of Copernicanism in his day; not only so, they did not even wait for Keplar to come amongst them to have it taught. We have seen how, in the year before, it was upheld in the Sapienza, and in the Roman Colleges; and now a Theatine Father is occupied in enforcing the truth of the same Copernican views. Why then, it may be asked, was Galileo, and why Galileo alone, silenced? The answer is ready—because of his extreme intemperance, which is fully evinced by his whole conduct in the affair, and is still farther attested by the Ambassador of his Prince, resident on the spot, and who dared not have misrepresented him to a Court which idolized him. We shall give the extract from that Minister's despatch; it is dated the 4th March, 1616, the day before the decision was, pronounced, and expresses with great earnestness the heat of the sage, proof against every expedient to the last. It is as follows, as given by Fabroni:—'Galileo makes more account of his own opinion than that of his friends; and the Lord Cardinal del Monte and I, so far as lay in my power, *together with many Cardinals of the Holy Office*, have tried to persuade him to keep himself quiet, and not to agitate this affair, but if he had a mind to hold his opinion, to hold it in peace, and not to make such efforts to draw over others to his way of thinking. He is heated in his opinions, and displays an extreme passion with but little prudence or strength of mind to know how to govern it. He is heated. He is passionate in this affair, and altogether blinded as to how he ought to act, and will remain so, as he has hitherto done, bringing himself, and every one else who will be fool enough to second his views, or be persuaded by him, into danger. He is vehement, obstinate, and passionate, so that it is impossible that any one around him can get out of his hands.'"

Galileo, at the urgent request of the Tuscan Ambassador, was quietly remanded to Florence by his Court, where he soon returned to his previous calm. Cardinal Barberini, who wrote some verses in honour of the Philosopher, was elected Pope in 1623, under the name or title of Urban VIII., and being a Copernican himself and personal friend of Galileo, and being desirous to have himself surrounded

by the most illustrious of the literati of the time, he invited Castelli from Pisa to be Mathematician to his Holiness. Cesarini, whose house was Galileo's home during his stay in Rome in 1616, and who wrote sweet verses on the motion of the earth and in praise of its hero, is made Grand Chamberlain; Ricardi is made Master of the Sacred Palace; Ciampole is made Secretary; the founder of the French Oratory, the celebrated Berulle, is raised to the dignity of Cardinal. All these celebrities, being personal friends of Galileo and admirers of his doctrine, he, at the advice of his illustrious friend, the Prince Cesi, went to Rome to offer personally his congratulations to his Holiness and former friend and brother academician, on his elevation to the Chair of St. Peter. In March, 1630, Castelli and Prince Cesi, writing to Galileo from Rome, informed him of an interview which Campenella—the most determined friend of Galileo—recently had with the Pope, when his Holiness said:—"It never was our intention to condemn "the Copernican system, and if it depended on us, the de- "cree of 1616 would never have been made." On Galileo's arrival in the Eternal City, he is received by his friends with the greatest cordiality, and by none more so than by his Holiness, who bestowed a pension on himself and his son. Under all these favourable circumstances, after much manœuvring and characteristic finesse, Galileo surprised his devoted friends, the Master of the Sacred Palace and Ciampole, into an approbation of a work which he but partially permitted them to examine. Thus, by conduct which no one can admire, he succeeds; and, to the wonder of all, [illegible] with the famous *Four Days' Dialogues*, in which [illegible] all the preponderance of argument to the opinion of [illegible]—treating the opposite and its advocates with ridicule and contempt. The very first page addressed *to the discreet reader*, most indiscreetly reveals and points the transparent satire against the injunction of 1616, by name. It was a daring attempt; and the air of defiance with which it was paraded made it scarcely possible that any tribunal considered entitled to public respect should tamely submit to be thus ostentatiously trampled on. He even had the hardihood to personally insult the Pope, through his friend Simplicius, so that in his wrath he would

not spare the first personage in the realm, who was also his own most generous benefactor. There can be no doubt but that this wanton attack on Galileo's part hastened the subsequent proceedings, to vindicate, as was asserted, the violated order of 1616. This was the ostensible ground of complaint. Certainly hostility to science in general, or to the peculiar doctrine of the earth's motion in particular, was not among the motives, real or avowed, that brought down the severity with which the delinquent was at last visited. All the springs of action are laid open in the correspondence of the day. In the important despatches of Nicolini, the then resident Ambassador of Florence, at Rome, we have evidence on the one hand of the Pope's taking up the cause, "*come propria ;*" and on the other,

"That the great difficulty consisted in its being maintained by the Cardinals of the Congregation, that in the year 1616 a command was laid upon him (Galileo) not to dispute or argue on this point, (the bearing of Scripture on the new science.) Every thing else seems to be of minor importance, and more easily got rid of."

The same point is restated in a second letter of the same date, as well as in those of 2nd May, 18th June, 26th June, and 3rd of July, 1633, and of the 11th September of the previous year—all of which may be seen in Venturi; and Geo. Francisco Buonamici expressly testifies that the Inquisition "solely examined him upon the license and "approbation of the Book." They demanded of him why he had not informed the Master of the Sacred Palace of the injunction of 1616? He replied that he thought it was useless. "There," says Venturi, "in vigorous justice "was his fault." Campanella, in writing to Galileo himself, 22nd October, 1632, says that it was the infringement of the injunction of 1616 which brought on the proceedings which terminated so unfavourable in 1633. It has been already shewn that Pope Urban and his Court were rather friendly than otherwise to the science, and regarded it in a theological point of view (apart from the Scriptures), as perfectly harmless. We have also seen the high tribute which Galileo himself paid to Bellarmine and others of the Jesuit order, although some of the inferior of them have been accused of writing against him, because, as was alleged, they were jealous that he should have the whole

credit of a science which they had so long taught themselves, and *not* because they thought it heresy.

At page 104 of the *Dublin Review*, before named, it is stated:—

"Of the evidence, then, which we have adduced—and in stating it we have held back no one circumstance of the slightest importance—the following appears to us to be the legitimate summary: that the distinguished individual with whose story we have been all this while occupied, was never condemned—never indeed so much as arraigned—but once; and then not for his science, or his religion, or any mere matter of opinion whatsoever, but for the *moral* fault of having, in a most flagrant manner, transgressed a solemn injunction placed on him by the highest tribunal of the land: a tribunal to which he had himself appealed—whose decision he loudly and pertinaciously demanded, and at last succeeded in extorting. For the transgression of an injunction like this, aggravated too, by circumstances of contempt and contumely against the authority that awarded it, was he condemned for the first and last time, towards the close of his life in 1633; in one word, for a grievous contempt of court."

Already had his long and active life, spent in universal prosecution of science, been allowed to draw near its close, without entailing on him, for this hateful exercise of its powers, from Rome and its dignitaries, any severer visitation than what may be summed up under the head of honours, pensions and caresses, and every other demonstration which the liveliest admiration of talents transcendant as his own could inspire; and this, while—as if to impart to it the relief of contrast—he was experiencing, from the countries round, and especially his own (Florence), more or less of petty persecution and vexatious annoyance. He had taught, published, proclaimed, extended the boundaries of human knowledge to the utmost regions of unexplored space; in fine, pulled down with one hand the venerable fabric of philosophy that had stood for ages, and with the other erected on its ruins a substitute of a new and altogether different construction. All this he did, not only under the eyes, but cheered by the countenance and applause of Rome, until, in an evil hour, as if intoxicated by the universal sway which he held in the world of science, and the series of victories he achieved over every successive adversary as they arose, he burst, in the wantonness of wayward pride, through the restraints of personal respect, public order, and even private gratitude, and levelled the

shafts of his satire and contempt against the very highest personage in the land—the same being his best benefactor.

"Yet even then," continues the Review, "the *sage* was not forgotten in the *delinquent*, nor the claims of the "High Priest of science" lost on the clemency and consideration of his judges. He was treated with a leniency, we had almost said a respect, perfectly without parallel in the annals of friendly vengeance; and never before or since has power been seen to relax its grasp with so little of injury to the victim that had the temerity to offend it. Lastly, it has been seen that the persons who thus treated this great man, were, in the whole world *at that time*, the most friendly to science; and who looked with the most favourable eye upon the very conclusion for which Drinkwater and such prejudiced writers would have it that he suffered. But was not the opinion declared to be heretical? No; and in thinking otherwise, men permit themselves either wilfully or negligently to be deceived by the words, of course, of a legal instrument—the set phrases of a Court of Justice, without attending to the legal phraseology or public acceptation of these terms, which, more than their grammatical construction, ever decides their meaning. The words "Heretical," "Heresy," in the sentence of 1633, are but the "stylus curiæ,"—the evidence is most decisive: that of the Pontiff in whose name it issued, and of the person under trial addressing his judges. 'No,' says Urban, 'the Church has not condemned that system, nor is it to be considered heretical, but only as rash.' And at page 75 of original pieces quoted by Delambre, Galileo himself said it was only condemned *ad interim*, 'pour le present condamnee,' —that is, not to be taught in its absolute form until proved to be true. But do we not see the two propositions, the one declaring the immobility of the sun, the other the motion of the earth, both condemned in the sentence as respectively heretical and erroneous in faith? Yes, but that condemnation is solely the work of the qualifiers—inferior officers of the Inquisition —and not of the Inquisition itself, which merely recites this, together with the other facts of the inquiry of 1616, by way of preamble to their sentence; whereas the Inquisition did not at all trouble themselves with considering the truth or falsehood, the innocence or poison, of the opinion asserted, but only with the question, whether or not the publication of its defence in the 'Dialogues' was an infringement of their injunction of 1616? The whole history of the trial proves that the abstract question they left as they found it. Now, there is more than ample evidence to show that it never was pronounced heretical. After Galileo was examined before the Inquisition, some months before final sentence was passed or the publication of the Dialogues condemned, a letter was dispatched by order of the Grand Duke, from Florence to Rome, in exculpation of his Mathematician. It was penned in the name of the Duke's Secretary, Andrea Cioli, but there is no doubt that it was composed by Galileo himself. Venturi says, it is '*in Galileo's own handwriting*.' That letter is demonstrative of the point, as well that Galileo was in Florence at that time, as that the anti-Copernican doctrine had never been definitely asserted, since in it Galileo alleges it as a proof, at least of his zeal and well-intentioned interest, that he composed the *Dialogues* with a view of affording those with whom it rested to decide on a point of doctrine, as he says, involving questions about which they could not ordinarily be expected to be conversant with the arguments

for and against, so as to abridge their labour and expenditure of time. The words are: 'That those with whom it rested to deliberate on such matters might, with less labour and loss of time, know to which side truth leans, and reconcile accordingly the meaning of Scripture.' "

The truth is, there was no decision to the effect that the doctrine of the earth's motion was, in the strictness of the term, heretical. Thus Grassi, Bellarmine, Pope Urban to Campanella, Ricardi, Ciampoli—thus the whole Court of Rome describe it. In short, the Inquisition and the whole Court of Rome had neither power nor authority to pronounce or declare what is or what is not heretical. IT MUST BE AN ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL THAT CAN DO SO. This fact is stated in Cardinal Magalotti's letter to Galileo and Guiducci, dated 4th September, 1632, and is well known not only to theologians, but to almost all readers of Church History. Why, then, is it stated throughout the sentence a heresy? Because, as has been already stated, it is the style of a Court which, being primarily established "*against heretical depravity*," by a very natural adaptation of language, terms every thing that comes before it "*heresy*," *even offences not at all against faith; nay, matters of fact which have nothing whatsoever to do with opinion; the sole punishment of excommunication inflicted on the staunchest and most unsuspected in faith of Catholics, for some moral fault, constitutes in the language of the Court a* "*heretic*,"—and to show that this is not an explanation adopted for the convenience of the occasion, any one who wishes for its confirmation has only to consult the "*Directorium Inquisitorum*" of Nicholas Eymerick, compiled many a long year before Galileo was thought of; and which, I believe, is as good and as practical an authority at Rome as Chitty is in the English Courts, on the technical or legal phraseology of indictments. And, I would ask, what English jurist would not laugh to ridicule any foreigner who would attempt to translate all the vagaries of "John Doe and Richard Roe," "who with force and arms," &c., and impart to such language the true literal meaning of such words in his own country? And yet this is precisely the error that Drinkwater has fallen into with respect to the sentence of Galileo, and copied into "the Library of Useful Knowledge."

I recollect, some twenty years ago, while serving on a Grand Jury in this good City of Charlottetown, and after the Jury making a presentment against a certain encroachment on Upper Queen-street, the Bill of Indictment was sent up, couched in all the legal technicalities "in such cases made and provided;" and although the house was proved to be an encroachment on the street to the extent of *fourteen feet*, yet because the indictment, amongst other things, stated that the said encroachment or nuisance was an interruption to the passage of the said street by Her Majesty's liege subjects, &c., two worthy gentlemen of the Jury (both Magistrates, since dead), could not reconcile it to their consciences, (one a Catholic, and the other of the Church of England), to vote for the Bill, because, as they said, "*there was plenty of room for Her Majesty's subjects to pass and repass on the other side of the street*," while all the other Jurors considered it only the set phrase of the Court, and as there were only thirteen Jurors, the Bill was "not found."

It was only in that wide, improper and technical sense that the opinion in the sentence of Galileo has been denominated a "heresy;" and the circumstance offers no more proof that it was held as such in the proper and ordinary sense of the word, than the language of our several English Law Courts affords to show that one man had been at such a time in "*the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea*," while he never had the honour of seeing the face of the said Marshal or his Marshalsea. But Mr. Drinkwater goes further still, and wishes to excite a suspicion in the minds of his readers that Galileo was put to torture, because he finds another legal phrase in the document, "*rigorous examen*," though he had been warned by Brenna, whom he affects to have read, that *it* also is but a phrase of course. But not satisfied with that, he—like Prenderville in the case of the Palatine Library, before referred to—has travelled back *nine centuries* before he could find a make-weight for his charge of "superstitious blindness" against Rome in the case of Saint Virgil. This will show that Mr. Drinkwater had more at heart than a truthful history of the life of Galileo, while it is no small eulogy on that Church, whose career he had to trace back 900 years, to found such a complaint,

although it would puzzle any one not so deeply sunk in bigotry as Mr. Drinkwater to find out what necessity there is for introducing St. Virgil of the eighth century into the life of Galileo of the *seventeenth*.

Now, after all that has been said and written by Englishmen, in execration of the Church, for its treatment of Galileo, do we find the new science in a more advanced state in Great Britain or any other part of Europe at that time? No, but quite the reverse. The learned Bullialdus, Gassendi and Castelli, though priests of that Church which acknowledges Rome for its head, yet they coincided with Galileo. If Ramus was a Protestant and an Aristotelian, he was no less opposed to the movement of the earth. If Osiander was bold as a reformer, he was timid to assert the Heliocentric doctrine. If the Inquisition at Rome prohibited the teaching of *a problem for an ascertained truth*—opposed as it was to the letter of the Scripture—the greatest Protestant philosopher of his day, Tycho Brahe, not only proved that it was a problem, but became the apostle of the opposite opinion, and made *a proselyte on theological grounds* of his Protestant friend, Rothman. If in Italy it could boast of many learned friends, as well as some enemies, in England it was scouted by the renowned Lord Chancellor Bacon—rejected by the illustrious Gilbert—written against by Alexander Ross,—and if taught by Bishop Wilkins, it was not without finding it necessary to satisfy his Protestant readers, "that the Scriptures were not *insuperably* against it." Nor when the Italian renegade, Bruno, (before alluded to), taught the earth's motion in England, do we find he made any converts to the science.

It usually creates quite a merriment amongst the literati of Rome, when they fall in with a statement of a petty purse-proud John Bull—such as Drinkwater's on Galileo—who takes his fling at the Church, as though he were as strong in conscious rectitude as to be perfectly unassailable on that point.* He writes just as if he considered the Church of England to include all Christendom, and England

* Powell before mentioned, see his translation of Pliny's encomium on Hipparchus—"ausus rem etiam Deo improbam, annumerare posteris stellas," —thus turned out of Latin by Mr. P.: "Who ventured to do a thing wrong in the sight of the Deity!" &c.—Powell, p. 58. Who ever before heard of praising a man for doing a thing wrong in the sight of the Deity?

to include the whole world; and while he never forgets the far-famed persecution of Galileo, he does not trouble his head to look into the horrible laws which, at the time, and long after Galileo's departure from this world's stage, bound unhappy Ireland in the chains of ignorance. The great Edmund Burke called them, "*those modes of inquisition that "should never be named to ears organized to the chaste sounds "of equity and justice,*"—making it felony to be taught at home, and double felony to be taught abroad.* Such writers seem to overlook that, in the sentiments of Galileo, one of the proudest achievements of Copernicus' genius was the reformation of the Calendar, in which he had so large a share, and which made all Europe its debtor; and yet enlightened England was not enlightened enough to adopt it for nearly two centuries afterwards; and then had to call in the aid of the Catholic Bishop Walmssley to make the regulation. Have we it not on record that the celebrated Descartes was persecuted in Holland for his new science and philosophy, and his work condemned at the University of Utrecht by Voetius, the then Rector? Was not the

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* "The Treaty of Limerick was signed 3d October, 1691, which guaranteed, by the faith and honour of the British Crown to the Irish people, the protection of their lives and properties, equally with all other subjects of the United Kingdom, and in particular, the *free and unfettered exercise of their Religion.*

"But the next year, 1692, proved to the unfortunate Irish—after their Army of 30,000 hadg one to France, and the rest were disbanded at home—that the solemn treaty was violated, and worse than a 'mockery or a snare!'

"I shall cite only, of the sanguinary penal laws enforced against the Catholics, from paragraphs which relate to Education:

"'If a Catholic kept school, or taught any porsen, Protestant or Catholic, any species of literature or science, such teacher was, for the crime of teaching, punishable by law by banishment; and if he returned from banishment he was subject to be hanged as a felon.'

"'If a Catholic, whether a child or adult, attended a school kept by a Catholic, or was privately instructed by a Catholic, such Catholic, although a child in its early infancy, incurred a forfeiture of all its property, present or future.'

"'If a Catholic child, however young, was sent to a foreign country for education, such infant child incurred a similar penalty—that is, a forfeiture to all right to property, present or prospective.'

"'If any person in Ireland made any remittance of money or goods for the maintenance of any Irish child, educated in a foreign country, such person incurred a similar forfeiture.'

"Not one tittle of the foregoing was relaxed until the memorable year of 1782, when the "Irish Voluntoers" were under arms—just 90 years of the darkest ignorance imposed on British subjects: *a leetle* more barbarous than Galileo's treatment in 1633."—*O'Connell's Memoir on Ireland, 3d edition, chap.* 5, *pp.* 12 *and* 13, *Dublin*, 1854.

famous John Christian Wolffe—one of the most amiable of men—a man who may be said to have raised the superstructure, if not laid the foundation of the philosophy of his day, in the year 1723—long after Galileo's time—stripped of his honours and emoluments, and banished his country? He was not, indeed, persecuted *like* Galileo, who was not deprived of his pension from the Pope, nor banished his country; but poor Wolffe suffered more from the Ministers of his own persuasion,—by them he was denounced to the secular power, not as an innovator, but as an atheist—a confederate of Spinosa's,—his principal accuser being no less a person than *Franke*, the founder of *the Orphan House*, and who prostrated himself in his Church and gave public thanks to God, that the heretic (inoffensive sage), was banished his home, his country and friends. And we find another famous philosopher, Hugo Grotius, a native of Delfte, in the Netherlands, was in the year 1619 sentenced to perpetual imprisoment and loss of property for atheism and sympathy with the unfortunate Barneveldt, who was executed under a sentence of the Synod of Dort, convened by King James I., for his views on Armnianism; but, after eighteen months close confinement, by a stratagem of his wife Grotius escaped from prison, and got safely to France, where he was graciously received by Louis XIII., who bestowed a pension on him.

What Inquisition more complete than the hateful Star Chamber of England, or the high Ecclesiastical Commission Court for the Suppression of Heresy, "whereby," says the Act 16th Charles I. that abolished it, "the King's subjects sustained great and insufferable wrongs and oppressions?" What Inquisition could be worse towards the unhappy Edmund Peacham, the Sommersetshire clergyman, victimized for a sermon which, though he wrote, he never preached or published—which, perhaps, he never intended to preach—for no earthly crime but that it was possible he might preach it—the poor old man was questioned, in the graphic language of the record, "before torture, in torture, and after torture," for matter of accusation against himself. Then, in the absence of proof thus cruelly sought for, tried and found guilty, and at length expired the victim of the foulest conspiracy? King, Ministry, every Judge in the

land but one, and a Jury of Englishmen—all co-operating to crush a poor feeble country curate!! Such things as these do not appear to be thought of by English writers, who make such a great onslaught on Rome about Galileo.

The London Encyclopædia, in its article on Galileo, which is nearly identical with that in the Britannica, without giving the name of the author of it, says, that—

"On the 22nd June, 1632, N. S., the Congregation pronounced sentence on Galileo, obliging him to abjure his errors in the most solemn manner; committed him to the prison of their office during pleasure, and enjoining him, as a saving penance, for three years to repeat once a week the Seven Penitential Psalms. This sentence Pope Urban VIII. afterwards mitigated by confining him in the Palace of the Medici, at Rome, and finally to his own country house in the vicinity of Florence, where he spent the remainder of his days, devoting himself in his retreat during eight years to the perfecting of his telescope, until, by constant application and the effects of the night air, he became blind three years before his death."

I merely cite this passage for its absurdity. It has been already shewn that Galileo was not in Rome when sentence was pronounced against him; and the writer of the above article must have thought that Florence was in the Pope's dominions! He might as well have said that the Emperor of the French could confine an Englishman to his house in London or Leeds as that the Pope could confine a Tuscan subject in any part of that Dukedom. The same ignorance is displayed by those who assert that Galileo *was cited* to Rome. No, it was only when he went to Rome and pressed his publications on the authorities there for a decision that they could be taken up, because, even if Galileo had been an ecclesiastic, and transgressed the laws of his Church, it is before his own Metropolitan that he could be cited, and not before the Inquisition, out of Tuscany, and from under the Government where he lived, and of which he was a born subject. So much for his "*Penance*" *and his Confinement.*

ERRATA.—In page 13, 22 lines from the top, for the word "differences" read *difference;* same page, 23rd line from beginning, for "arise" read *arose;* 24th line from top, for "has been settled" read "*was* settled," &c. In page 15, 6th line from the bottom, for "*Revolutionistus*" read *Revolutionibus.*